538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Wītielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
155 satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.
192 Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

6: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 Pukapukans
155

[For discussion of the main patterns of personality development of the Pukapukan child, some of the overt conflict situations, and some of the stresses incidental to the process of socialization, see this entire source pp. 282-298 in category 116. ---analyst.]